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Author(s): Robert H. Hewsen and Pappus of Alexandria

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# The *Geography* of Pappus of Alexandria: A Translation of the Armenian Fragments

By Robert H. Hewsen\*

PAPPUS OF ALEXANDRIA, the noted Greek geometer, probably flourished in the time of Diocletian—at the turn of the third century A.D. His most famous work is the *Mathematical Collection* (Μαθηματικὴ Συναγωγή), the greater part of which is still extant. He also wrote a commentary on Euclid's *Elements*, part of which has come down to us in an Arabic translation, as well as commentaries on Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Harmonics*, both of which have been lost. Most intriguing of all his works, however, is his lost *Geography* (Χωρογραφία Οἰκουμένης), known only from the Byzantine dictionary of Suidas<sup>1</sup> until an Armenian adaptation of it was published in 1683.<sup>2</sup> The significance of this Armenian *Geography* (Աճարհա՛օյ՛) for students of Pappus of Alexandria has been obscured for decades by lengthy debates over its date and authorship and by the fact that despite the Armenian redactor's specific statement that his work is based on the *Geography* of Pappus, specialists have spent considerable time attempting to prove—or disprove—that the redactor worked directly from Ptolemy.<sup>3</sup> In a recent study I have attempted to demonstrate that on the basis of internal evidence the Armenian *Geography* dates from between c. 615 and c. 636 A.D. and that it was written by Ananias of Širak (c. 590–c. 670), the only Armenian author of the seventh century known to possess the necessary education and interests to undertake such a work—an idea which must now be revised.<sup>4</sup> I also attempted to show that despite his

\* Department of History, Glassboro State College, Glassboro, New Jersey 08028.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, *Lexicon* (c. late 10th century), ed. and Latin trans. G. Bernhardt, 2 vols. (Halle, 1843).

<sup>2</sup> *Girk' Ašxarhac' ew araspelzbanut'yun or e aluesagirk'* (Constantinople, 1683). This work was published with "Marseille" on the title page but was actually printed in Constantinople, where "Marseille" was used to prevent the Turkish authorities from learning that Armenian works were being produced in the Ottoman capital.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary of these debates see Robert H. Hewsen, "On the Date and Authorship of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, N.S., 1967, 4: 409–432.

<sup>4</sup> On a visit to the Matenadaran (manuscript repository) in Erevan, Soviet Armenia, in the summer of 1969, I was convinced by the sub-director, Dr. E. Chookaszian, that Ananias could not be the author of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* because the cosmological ideas expressed in his *Cosmography* differ radically from those expressed in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*. He referred me to the article "On the Seventh Century *Ašxarhac'oyc'*" by M. M. Khachatryan which appeared (in Armenian) in the Matenadaran's publication *Patmabanasirut'iwn Hantes*, 1968, No. 4: 81–100. In this study over a dozen points of conflict between the ideas of Ananias and those of the author of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* are noted.

continual references to Ptolemy, the Armenian redactor must be taken at face value when he states that his work is based on Pappus and that the references to Ptolemy must have been included in Pappus' text to begin with or derived at secondhand from some other source.<sup>5</sup>

The Armenian *Geography* consists of an introduction in two parts, the first dealing with the subject of geography in general and the second with a general description of the globe. This is followed by three sections, on Europe, Libya (Africa), and Asia. The section on Asia is the longest and most detailed and is interrupted by the insertion of a lengthy description of Armenia and the neighboring countries of Iberia (East Georgia) and Albania (Soviet Azerbaidzan) as well as the empire of Sassanian Iran, for all of which the redactor drew upon local sources. With the exception of this insertion, the work is clearly based on a single classical Greek source, obviously Pappus, augmented by occasional references gleaned from other Greek authors. Among the latter, the Armenian redactor specifies Ptolemy, Hipparchus, and Marinus of Tyre (the latter two through Ptolemy, and Ptolemy most likely through Pappus himself), and also Abydenus, Diodorus of Samos, Cosmas Indicopleustes (Constantine of Antioch), and a certain Dionysus and Apollo. Also interspersed in the work are numerous interpolations, some by the Armenian redactor (e.g., quotations from the Bible), while others, relating to changes resulting from the coming of the Arabs, appear to be of a later date and hence of another hand. The redactor's main source, however, as he makes clear in two places, is the *Geography* of Pappus of Alexandria, and none of the other sources have been used extensively (except, of course, for the local materials used for the section on Armenia and neighboring countries, mentioned above).

Sometime after the completion of the Armenian text—but not later than 800 A.D.—someone prepared an abridgment of the *Geography*, into which were subsequently interpolated still other passages not found in the original adaptation. This short redaction also appears to contain many original elements omitted by copyists from the long one as it was transcribed over the centuries. Thus there are two versions of the Armenian *Geography*—the long redaction, which survives in a single manuscript,<sup>6</sup> and the shorter one, which is found in all the others.<sup>7</sup> Because of their differences, both redactions must be used together for a full appreciation of the contents of the original

<sup>5</sup> In reference to the River Soanas in Sarmatia, the author of the *Ašxarhaç'oyc'* tells that this river is unknown to Ptolemy, whereas Ptolemy does, in fact, mention this river (V.11.1; ed. with Latin trans. Karl Muller, Paris:Didot, 1901, 2 vols.).

<sup>6</sup> *Géographie de Moïse de Chorène d'après Prolémée*, text and French trans. Arsène Soukry (Venice: Imp. Arménienne, 1881).

<sup>7</sup> Apart from the *editio princeps* of 1683, the short redaction has been through several editions and translations as follows:

Published in Armenian when it was still being attributed to Moses of Khoren: Venice, 1752, 1843, 1862. (Moses of Khoren was an Armenian historian variously placed by specialists between the 5th and late 8th centuries. The earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Geography* are anonymous, but sometime in the Middle Ages a copyist

attributed the work to Moses on the basis of certain superficial resemblances between passages in the *Geography* and in Moses' *History of Armenia*. This attribution was refuted by specialists in the late 19th century.)

Published with the following translations in the time when it was being attributed to Moses of Khoren (Movses Xorenac'i): Mosis Chorenensis, *Historiae Armeniacae libri II, accedit ejusdam scriptoris epitome geographiae* . . . (London: G. & G. Whiston, 1736). M. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* (Paris: Imp. Royale, 1819), Vol. II, pp. 301–405. *Armyanskaya Geografiya VII Veka Po P. X. (Pripis, Moiseyu Khorenskomy)*, trans. K. P. Patkanov (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science, 1877).

Also published in Abrahamean's edition of *The Works of Ananias of Širak* (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Science, 1944).

text. Translations of both versions exist in French, but they are difficult to find and are very unsatisfactory.

Hans von Mzik has suggested that some idea of Pappus' *Geography* can be obtained by excising from the Armenian text all material of a date later than the period when Pappus lived and all data obviously drawn from Armenian, Arabic, Persian, and Biblical sources, as well as the interpolations of later copyists.<sup>8</sup> Of course, an obvious drawback to this is that we are certain that the Armenian redactor not only translated and amended the *Geography* of Pappus but that he abridged it as well. Thus, after eliminating all of the Armenian additions, we would still be left with only an abridgment of Pappus' work. This is not as great a problem as it might appear, however, for in several places in the text the Armenian redactor leaves us odd bits of data which make it clear just what he made a point of omitting in the general process of adapting Pappus' work.

In this paper, then, an attempt is made to follow von Mzik's suggestion and to reconstruct the *Geography* of Pappus of Alexandria as it probably appeared in the Greek manuscript used by the author of the Armenian *Geography*. The material which follows is the Armenian text, which I have translated from classical Armenian and from which I have omitted all the above-mentioned data not obviously Pappian in origin.<sup>9</sup> Several verbatim quotes from Ptolemy found in the Armenian text make it clear that Pappus drew freely upon Ptolemy's *Geography* for his own work—which is what might be expected from a scholar who devoted so much of his time to Ptolemy's works. For this reason, I have not hesitated to consult Ptolemy for the elucidation of passages in the Armenian version obscured by the errors of ignorant copyists. Needless to say, any such reconstruction of a lost text can only be tentative, and I have had to do some patching here and there to make the reconstruction complete; wherever I have done so, I have indicated this in my notes. In general, my procedure has been to weed out the major interpolations in Pappus' text. The smaller ones which remain have been placed in parentheses. Brackets are used to indicate words inserted by me to make the English text more readable. I have left in italics all those place names for which I could find no classical equivalent.

An examination of the restored text which follows may help to cast light upon the scientific contributions of Pappus of Alexandria. In such an examination it must be kept in mind that we cannot be absolutely certain how closely the Armenian text follows Pappus. As stated above, it is probable that considerable condensation and abridgment have taken place, and in the earliest section, where geography is being described in general, it seems clear that the redactor is paraphrasing rather than translating. Again, the numerous interpolations which I have had to remove show how little the author and later copyists respected the Greek original. Despite this, however, the classical ring of the original Greek text is everywhere apparent and clearly differentiates itself from the Armenian interpolations. However the Armenian redactor may have tampered with the original, we can still get a good idea of what the *Geography*

<sup>8</sup> Hans von Mzik, "Neue Gesichtspunkte zur Würdigung der Bedeutung der "Geographie" des Klaudios Ptolemaios für die Orientalistik (mit den einleitenden Abschnitten der "Welt-schau" des [pseudo-] Moses Xorenaci in Deutscher Uebersetzung," *Litterae Orientales*, 1933,

54:1-16.

<sup>9</sup> The *Aṣṣarhaṭ'oye* bears, in many ways, a striking resemblance to such late Roman geographical texts as the *Periplus of the Outer Sea* by Marcian of Heraclea (English trans. William H. Schoff, Philadelphia, 1927).

of Pappus must have been like and can be fairly certain that in most places we are reading his own words.

### TRANSLATION OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF PAPPUS

The Armenian *Geography* begins with an abridged and badly garbled version of the introduction to Ptolemy's *Geography*. The text based on Pappus of Alexandria begins next:

(We thus begin after the *Geography* of Pappus of Alexandria, who followed the circuit of the particular map of Claudius Ptolemy, beginning his measurements from the Torrid Zone to the north and south.) The Torrid Zone begins at the unknown country of the Chinese; it passes north by the promontory of Satyrus; then by its islands as far as the island of Taprobane and its extremities. It passes the lake of Calus and the sources of the River Asopus. It also passes Mt. Pella and the Nile and Ethiopia from the south past the mountain called Theon Ochema, (which signifies "Seat of the Gods"),<sup>10</sup> [then] by the Auxomis mountains, and the fish-eating Ethiopians as far as the Unknown Land.

As for the Ocean (as I said above) it begins at the wind called Zephyr; at latitude 21° near the fish-eating Ethiopians and the mountain called the Theon Ochema; it goes around the west as far as its extremity and returns toward the north, then toward the east as far as the longitude 60° opposite the gulf of the Pontus which is called Carcinitis near Cherson on the same line as Diospolis in the province of Honorias, Herapolis of Phrygia Salutaria, and as far as Tetalia to the Sea of Libya directly to (Ms. r, i.e.)<sup>11</sup> Egypt. Now, as we have said, the Ocean reaches as far as 60° where the Unknown Land is. It circles around the other parts of the north, south, and east, and 20° to the west as far as the same Ocean. No one has seen beyond these limits, and it is because of this that the land and ocean are called unknown, although the Ocean is known from navigation. There are six islands to the south called the Fortunate Isles. To the west are six other islands which are found opposite Inner Libya and, to the north, are [another] four.

The rivers which enter the Ocean from the west are: the Masitholus, which comes from Mt. Theon Ochema; the Nicas, which comes from [the land of] the White Ethiopians; the Stachir from Mt. Rysadius, which forms a lake and then enters the sea; the Daradis which formed by six other rivers, enters the great renowned port;<sup>12</sup> the Massa, Ophiodes, Chusarius, and Salathus, which come from Mt. Mandrus; and [finally] the large River Sebus.

Between the Greater and Lesser Atlas [Mountains] flow the following rivers: first the Saga, then the Agna, Phocra, Diur, Asama, and Cussas. Between the lesser Atlas and the city of Tingis are the rivers Lius, Subur, Lix, Zileia, and Gaditanian. [A strait] called Septem, (i.e., "seven") because it is seven miles wide, like a river enters from the Ocean into the Iberian Sea, which is the beginning of the Grecian Sea. Opposite [Septem] to the west, there is another island in the Ocean called Sagadium. This strait separates Tingis from Spain.

As the Ocean proceeds north and turns eastward, it forms two large islands, Hibernia and Albion, which are called the land of the Britons. And [there is] the Island of Thule, of which the greater part is regarded as part of the Unknown Land and which has given place to incredible tales. There is another island opposite the frontier of Sarmatia and Germany called Scandia, where dwell the Goths and several other nations. No ship has gone past this island and no man has reached [beyond]; this is what is called the Unknown Sea.

<sup>10</sup> This mountain is cited by Strabo (II.2) and Pomponius Mela (III.9) as *θεῶν Ὀχρημα*, while Ptolemy (IV.6) has "Theon which is also called Ochema." The meaning of the name, con-

trary to the Armenian redactor's gloss, is "chariot" rather than "seat" of the gods.

<sup>11</sup> A gloss giving the Arabic name for Egypt.

<sup>12</sup> Ptolemy's *Μέγας λιμὴν* (II.3.4).

There are three great seas which are surrounded by land: the first is the Indian, that is, the Red Sea, whose latitude is 113°. From this gulf extend the Persian and Arabian seas. [The Persian] has the shape of a brick a little toward the northwest. But the Arabian Sea, which is similar [in shape] to a colocynth, is bordered on the south by the unknown and uninhabitable land. To the east is the land of the Chinese; to the north, the Indies, Carmania, and the lands of Persia and Arabia; on the west, the lands of Egypt and Ethiopia which are in Libya.

The second sea is the Grecian, which comes from the Ocean at longitude 60°, latitude 36° at the place called Septem, (which means “seven”) because it is seven miles wide. To the west is the island of Gadirus in the Ocean, but it [the sea] has its width extending eastward, to the north and to the south. It extends as far as Syria, having 30° [in length]. Its limits are the lands of Syria and Phoenicia on the east and Judea to the southeast as far as Egypt; to the northeast, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphlia, Lycia, Caria, Mysia, Hellespont, and Bithynia, [extending] as far as Chalcedon. From this gulf extends the Sea of Pontus. It [the Grecian Sea] extends 18° as far as Egypt. To the north it has Europe as its border as far as Septem; to the south, Libya as far as the same Septem.

The third sea is that of Hyrcania, which is [also] called [that] of the Caspians. It extends from the mouth of the Arax and the Kur as far as the river Polytimetus (which means “precious”). It is 23° [long] and is bounded on the west by the [Armenian] lands; on the northwest by Albania at the river Coesius; and then by the mouths of the Cheras, Sontas, Alonta, and Udon with the peoples of the same name, and which flow from the Caucasus and enter the sea. The peoples who bear the names of these four rivers are counted among those of Scythia (i.e., the *Apxtark'*).<sup>13</sup> On the north side it is bounded by the land of the Scythians [which extends] to the mouth of the river Tyras, (which I believe is the Ematha) and by the Rhymmus, Daix, and Iaxartes rivers. To the east it is bordered by the nation called *Anariaken Nombas*,<sup>14</sup> by the mouth of the river Iastus, by the province called *Sagaruke*<sup>15</sup> by the mouth of the river Polytimetus, mentioned above, which issues from Mt. Oxus by which is found the district of Sian, and by the mouth of the river Oxus, near which is the nation of the Rybii and the three cities of Aspabota, Oxia, and Dauaba, the nation of Theoxia, near which is the River Margus in the land of the Margians (which seems to me to be the same as Merv and Mervi-rud). [Here are found] the Astabani nation and the River Maxera and a district of the same name [extending] as far as the River Charinda, [all of] which belong to the land of Hyrcania, near which extend the second Agron Mountains. On the south is the land of the Medes (i.e., the *Mark'*). Beginning at the same River Charinda and extending to the west, is the nation called the Anarian Medes. Here flows the river called *Sararovr*,<sup>16</sup> and here is found the district called [after the] Derbices (whom I think are the Dilamites), and [here also are] the Gelae. Here flows the River *Omdas* [extending] as far as the mouth of the River *Kudos* and [here are also] the Cadusians (among whom is [found] *Gabaŕu Bagink'*)<sup>17</sup> [and who extend] as far as the River Cambyses. On the west are two islands called the Dodeis, and another on the east called Talka.

The earth is similarly divided into three parts: Europe, Libya, and Asia. Europe is to the

<sup>13</sup> A gloss giving the Persian name for the Scythians.

<sup>14</sup> Ptolemy (VI.14) cites the *Ἀνάρπει* and the *Ναμάσσαι* as two distinct people in cis-Himalayan Scythia. Somewhere between Ptolemy, Pappus, and the Armenian redactor the names became corrupted.

<sup>15</sup> Ptolemy (VII.14) cites a tribe called *Σαγα-ραῦκαι* on the east coast of the Caspian Sea

between the mouths of the Oxus and Taxartes rivers.

<sup>16</sup> Probably Ptolemy's *Στράτων* (VI.2.2).

<sup>17</sup> *Gabaŕu Bagink'* is Ptolemy's \**Γάβαροι Βωμοί* (VI.2.1), where the name is corrupted as *Σαβαροί Βωμοί*. This would be the same as the *Ẕwt'np'orakean Bagink'* of other Armenian sources, literally “altars of the seven valleys.”



west. The north, as far as the river of Tanais, which flows from the mountain of Rhea and enters the Maeotis Bay, is also part of Europe. To the south is Libya [extending] as far as the Red Sea, from the city called Anthedus, which is between the city of Rhinocolura and Gaza at the end of the Phoenician Gulf which [latter] passes by the islands as far as Tenedus, Chalcedon in Bithynia, and the Tanais River. Asia, however, occupies the north, south, and the middle of the east side as far as the Unknown Land. It is because of this that [Asia] is larger than the other divisions and is foremost among the divisions of the world. Libya is larger in area than Europe; it is second after Asia; Europe is third. (It seems to me [that the three parts are named] from Shem, Ham, and Japhet.)

As to the center of the earth, the habitat of man, Ptolemy says it is Arabia Felix [located] toward the southern end of the Persian Sea, which is [also] called the Sea of the Fish-Eaters. . . .<sup>18</sup>

Having spoken to geography in general, we shall begin to describe each country (according to Pappus of Alexandria) beginning west from the Ocean at the first degree of longitude to Spain and to the cape called Hieron, (i.e., "the great and marvelous").<sup>19</sup> This cape extends further into the Ocean than any other land. [It extends] 3°, which form 1,550 stadia, as we shall describe below.

### *The Continent of Europe*

The first country of Europe is Spain, triangular in shape like an island in the midst of the sea. It is bounded by the Ocean on the west beginning at Cape Hieron at Latitude 46° and longitude 1° and extending to the other cape called *Nerion* at latitude 46°, longitude 5°. It is likewise bounded on the east by the Pyrenee Mountains and, on the south, by the Grecian Sea which begins at the same Pyrenees. It has the rivers Durius and Iberus, (but I wish to describe only the celebrated rivers and the great cities, passing in silence over the others).

The second country of Europe is Britain. It is [composed of] two islands [located] above Spain and Gaul in the Northern Ocean. The name of the western island is Hibernia. In its southwestern part it has the shape of a grain of barley at latitude 58°, longitude 8°. There are sixteen large rivers [there] and various peoples. The other island is called Albion. Between those two islands are found four smaller ones.

The third country of Europe is Gaul, which is [also] called Celtica-Galatia; it is east of Spain (longitude 30°, latitude 47°). There are large mountains in Gaul and twenty-nine rivers of which eight fall into the Grecian Sea and twenty-one into the Ocean. A ferocious white bullock is found there, (and also the large nation of the Franks, half of whom dwell in Gaul and half in Germany).<sup>20</sup>

The fourth country is Germany, which is east of Gaul and bounded on the north by the River Danube. It has three celebrated mountains and eleven large rivers of which three flow into the Danube. There are four forests [filled with] large trees, the plain of Satrapene, the desert of Ilmaeus, and it [also] has wild horses.

The fifth country, Dalmatia, is southeast of the farthest point of Gaul at latitude 48°, longitude 43°. On the east it is bounded by the River Danube and it has six small provinces. Here is found the bonasus, a wild beast which throws its excrement at hunters to burn them. There are four islands [in Dalmatia]: by Macedonia, [there are] the cattle

<sup>18</sup> Here follows a short argument which cites Holy Scripture in an attempt to prove that Jerusalem, rather than Arabia Felix, is the center of the inhabited world.

<sup>19</sup> The words "great and marvelous," like so many interpolations encountered in the text, are

simply a gloss translating a Greek name into Armenian.

<sup>20</sup> Some Franks had already crossed into Gaul as early as the 4th century. They may be said to have dwelled in both Gaul and Germany as late as the 9th. In any case, this passage appears to be an interpolation of the Armenian adaptor.

(?) [islands] called *Stragon* and *Isa* [which are] off Dalmatia Minor [whose coast] extends to [the islands of] *Koskida* and *Melana*, opposite the Gulf of *Prizimon*, at the mouth of the River Drilon.<sup>21</sup> (On this [latter] island the blessed apostle took shelter.)<sup>22</sup>

The sixth country, Italy, is an extension of Gaul beginning at Dalmatia toward the south, where [are found] (Venice, a district located in the water<sup>23</sup>), forty-five mainland districts, and six provinces (of which one is [that of the] Boii Galli with the celebrated city of Ravenna<sup>24</sup>) and three large rivers, which are called the Aterinus, the Padus, and the Rubicon and which flow into the Grecian Sea. To the south are the countries of Saterina; Latium, in which is the great Rome; and Greater Greece, where the delightful Compania is located near the Island of Sicily, and which has thirteen rivers, although its mountains are not renowned.

The seventh country is Sardinia, a large island near the isle of Cynrus. It has twenty districts and [also] smaller islands [around it], and its circumference is 980 miles.

The eighth country is Sicily, a large island east of Sardinia, 350 miles from the latter. It has small islands [around it] and is triangular in shape, 100 miles from end to end. [It has] five districts, eighteen rivers, and two mountains: Parthenus and *Boṛnos*, whose summit is always ablaze.<sup>25</sup>

This is enough. Let us return to the original [part] of the north which we have left, and, from the other side of the Ocean and the Unknown Land, we shall continue the description of Europe toward the south as far as the Grecian Sea.

The ninth country of Europe is the land of the Sarmatians, east of Germany. It begins at the River Vistula and has mountains bearing the same name [beginning] near the northern Ocean [and extending] as far as the Unknown Land, and to the eastern extremity of the Rhipaeen Mountains from which flows the River Tanais, but all this is found toward the south. It [the Tanais] divides Sarmatia in two, Asia on the east and Europe on the west, and it flows into the Maeotis Bay. One can sail there as far as the Pontus Sea, then by the Pontus and the River Tyras which separates Sarmatia from the land of the Dacians on the south. Sarmatia contains small subdivisions among which is the Tauric peninsula; that is, the Chersonese, which is between Lake Byce and the Maeotis Bay and [between] the Pontus and the River Carcinitis [which flows] into the gulf of the same name. But there are [also] several (pagan) peoples, one of whom is called the Hemaxobii (which means "living in Chariots"). It [Sarmatia] has seven mountains from which flow several rivers entering the Pontus, one of which is called *Koç'o*.<sup>26</sup> It has a small lake, two islands, and two altars.

The tenth country is the land of the Thracians, east of Dalmatia, near Sarmatia, beginning at the River Tarus and [extending] as far as the Danube. There are five small regions and others called *Veriwmus*<sup>27</sup> and Dardania, [which is also called] Tetrapolis. On the south side is Thrace proper and on the north side the large country of Dacia,

<sup>21</sup> These five names seem to be due to some confusion, and the text here is also badly corrupted. *Stragon* is probably Scardona; *Isa* is unknown; while *Koskida* and *Melana* are probably the *Κορκουρα ἢ Μέλαινα* (Black Corcyra) of Ptolemy, the adjective being interpreted as a place name and then confused with *Melita* (Malta), where St. Paul was shipwrecked.

<sup>22</sup> Several such Biblical references appear in the text and, like the glosses, are clearly the work of the Armenian redactor.

<sup>23</sup> Venice arose from settlements which grew up on islands in the lagoon as a result of the

Hunnic invasions of the 5th century.

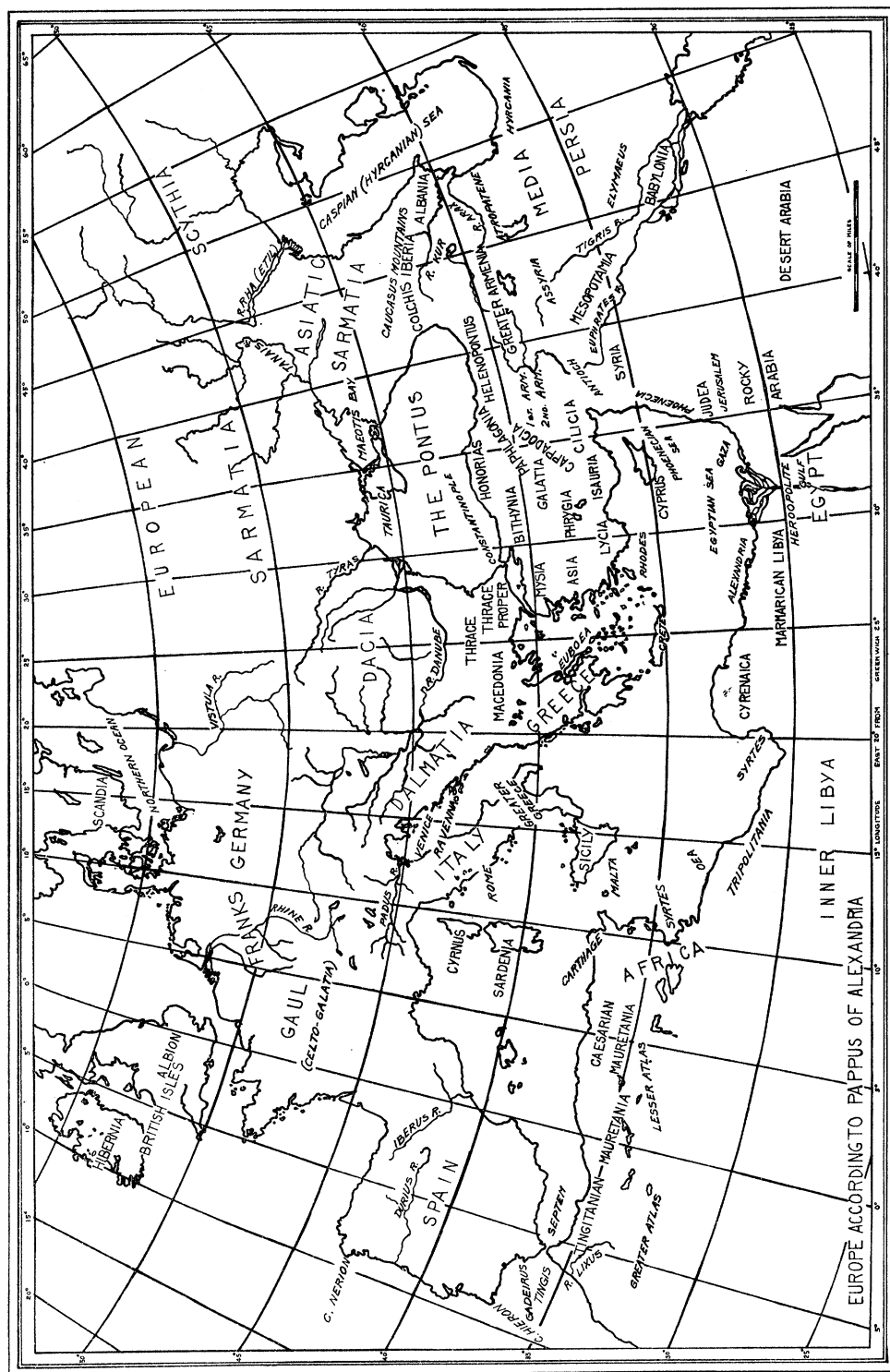
<sup>24</sup> Ravenna, of course, did not become celebrated until a century after Pappus' time.

<sup>25</sup> From its description, this mountain can only be Mt. Etna, *Boṛnos* being perhaps a corruption of the Latin *vulcanus*.

<sup>26</sup> Ptolemy (III.5) mentions eighteen rivers in Sarmatia, but *Koç'o* corresponds to none of them.

<sup>27</sup> Soukry, editor of the only edition of the long redaction, suggests that *Veriwmus* could be a corruption of the Armenian *Verin Miwsia*, "Upper Mycia."





(where dwell the Slavs [who form] twenty-five tribes,<sup>28</sup> and which fell into the control of the Goths who came from the island of Scandia which is called *Emios* by the Germans. But the Slavs crossed the River Tanais and conquered the other regions of Thrace and Macedonia and entered Achaia and Dalmatia. The armies of Thrace were composed of Tantalids, Sardians, Sicilidians, etc.) There are two mountains [in Thrace] and one river, the Danube, which has six tributaries and which forms a lake, and an island called Peuce. . . .<sup>29</sup>

The eleventh country, Macedonia, is east of the Ionian Sea and borders Dalmatia and Thrace. It contains six mountains, one of which is Citarius and another Olympus; six large rivers and thirty districts, [including] the great Thessaly (whence the Armenians [originated]).<sup>30</sup> It has green marble speckled with white. There are six gulfs. Latitude 5°, longitude 7°.

The twelfth country, Greece, borders Macedonia and has small regions [such as] Achaia and Epirus; Corinth, a city of Achaia, and Athens. [It also has] three mountains, five rivers, thirty-eight cities, and thirty regions [among which are] Achaia proper, Arcadia, Argos, Laconia, Elis, Messenia, and Sicyonia, where are located the temples of Poseidon. There is [also] the Peloponnesus, which has several citadels and gulfs bearing the same names. It has four mountains, six rivers, and sixty cities, one of which is Lacedemone where green marble is found. In Greece there are several other cities and districts and nine mountains, among which are Parnassus, Helicon, and Dodona mentioned in mythology. It has forty-four islands, among them Crete. The Coraunian mountains are located here, the city of Eleusine, the large island of Euboea, and one small island called Atalante. . . .<sup>31</sup>

So much for Europe, the third part of the world.

### *Libya: The Second Part of the World*

#### *The Lengthy Part Begins Here*

The first country of Libya is Mauretania, which is called Tingitana from the city of Tingis at the straits of Hercules, that is, Septem opposite the island of Gadirum where the Grecian Sea joins the Ocean at latitude 36°, longitude 26°. It has five mountains, of which the most celebrated are the Lesser Atlas, and Mount Dordon; twelve rivers which flow into the Ocean and four others into the Grecian Sea. It contains sixteen nations and the Pyron-Pedion (or "Plain of Fire").<sup>32</sup>

The second country is Mauretania called "Caesarian," east of Tingitana extending toward the south [to the country of the Gaetulians].<sup>33</sup> It has seventeen rivers, three lakes, seven mountains, and twenty-seven inhabited districts. It is said that there are copper mines in its mountains, which also produce cinnabar, which is a red medicament.

<sup>28</sup> The Slavs first entered Dacia (Rumania) in the 6th century, and this passage is thus another interpolation.

<sup>29</sup> Here follows a reference to Asparukh, son of the Bulgar Khan, Kubrat (582–642) and to the city of Constantinople.

<sup>30</sup> The Thessalian origin of the Armenians is asserted by several classical authors, notably Strabo (XI.4.5), and the story was well known to Armenian authors as well.

<sup>31</sup> A short passage follows which links events of Greek and Armenian history.

<sup>32</sup> Another gloss translating a Greek name into Armenian.

<sup>33</sup> The short redaction of this *Geography* has the words "to the country of the Gaetulians" added here. This appears to be a classical reference which was probably found in Pappus and omitted from the long version through a copyist's error. It is worth noting that there are several such small passages, apparently classical in origin, which have been omitted in the long redaction but are preserved in the short.

The third country, Africa, is east of Caesarian Mauretania. It has eight mountains, nineteen rivers, eight lakes, forty-one districts, and five gulfs, of which two are called Syrtes. There is a certain tree there called the lotus, which, according to Homer, causes those who eat [of its fruit] to forget their homeland. It also has six islands, one of which is Malta (from where, according to the prophet Ezechiel, wool is exported to Tyre, i.e., the marine wool called byssus<sup>34</sup>). Amber is found here, a delicate plant from the seas, which petrifies in the sun; and also the red hyacinth. The capital is Carthage; then [comes] Tripoli, that is, the three cities: *Giovbi*, *Kalanía*, and *Oea*. Later, three other cities were built: *Tisoba*, *Idisia*, and *Pontia*, (which had for their prince the wise Nerseh Kamsarakan, patrician of *Širak* and Lord of the Arsharunians<sup>35</sup>).

Four, Cyrenaica, which is called Pentapolis, is east of Africa where the Gardens of the Hesperides are. It has twelve districts, one of which is called *Luk'*;<sup>36</sup> two islands, three rivers, which, uniting into one, is called Lathan and flows into the sea; and one lake name Livaria. It has the Lasanican caves where are found man-eating monsters; the centaur, whose tail is like that of a bird; the lynx; the hippocentaur; marmotte, and other marvelous animals.

Five, Marmarican Libya and all Egypt form a single country east of Cyrenaica [whose] sea [bears] the same name [extending as far as] the coastal city of Athedon [which is] situated between Rhincolura and Ascalon in the western gulf at the bifurcation of the Red Sea opposite Heroopolis. It has twelve mountains, one of which is called Purpurata. There are two artificial [canals], three natural lakes, three other lakes formed by tributaries of the Nile, one of which, near the great Alexandria, is called Ravenitenia, (which, I believe, is Lake Moeris). But Egypt has [only] one river, the Nile (which is [the same as] the Gihon<sup>37</sup>). It begins in the Mountains of the Moon near the Unknown Land to the south, and turns directly toward Egypt, where it forms four islands. It is then divided into several branches which, reuniting, form several islands and the above-mentioned lakes. One of these branches falls into the Heroopolis Bay, which is the western gulf of the Red Sea. The other branches [fall] into the Grecian Sea. Egypt has forty-one districts, one of which is called Tainias. Near the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf dwells a nation of fish-eaters called Arabo-Egyptians. Egypt has eleven small islands off the coast in the sea of the same name.

The sixth general country of Libya is *Entos* Libya (which means Inner Libya<sup>38</sup>). It is east of the Western Ocean beginning at the Greater Atlas along the two Mauretania and Africa. It extends as far as Mt. Theon Ochema, (meaning "Seat of the Gods"<sup>39</sup>) which is in a red [plain] toward the north. It has eight mountains and ten rivers which flow into the Western Ocean. It has two other rivers besides: the Bagradas and Cinyphus. Thirteen tribes dwell in Inner Libya, of which one are the White Ethiopians, and another, the Ethiopians of the Forest. It is said that there are found the Pygmies, called by some the Pichithes, and by others, Thriphix. Here are the White Mountains [so-called] because their soil is white like snow, although Ptolemy says nothing of them. They tell of the rhinoceros which roams from the Ocean to Inner Libya as far as the Nile; they resemble the hippopotamus and are all males. No one knows how they procreate. They have a horn on their nose which is strong enough to break hard stones; they [can] easily kill an elephant. There are man-eating and wine-loving beasts there and six islands (where are found the descendants of the Rechabites, who went there before the destruction of

<sup>34</sup> Another Biblical interpolation of the Armenian redactor.

<sup>35</sup> Another historical interpolation of the Armenian redactor.

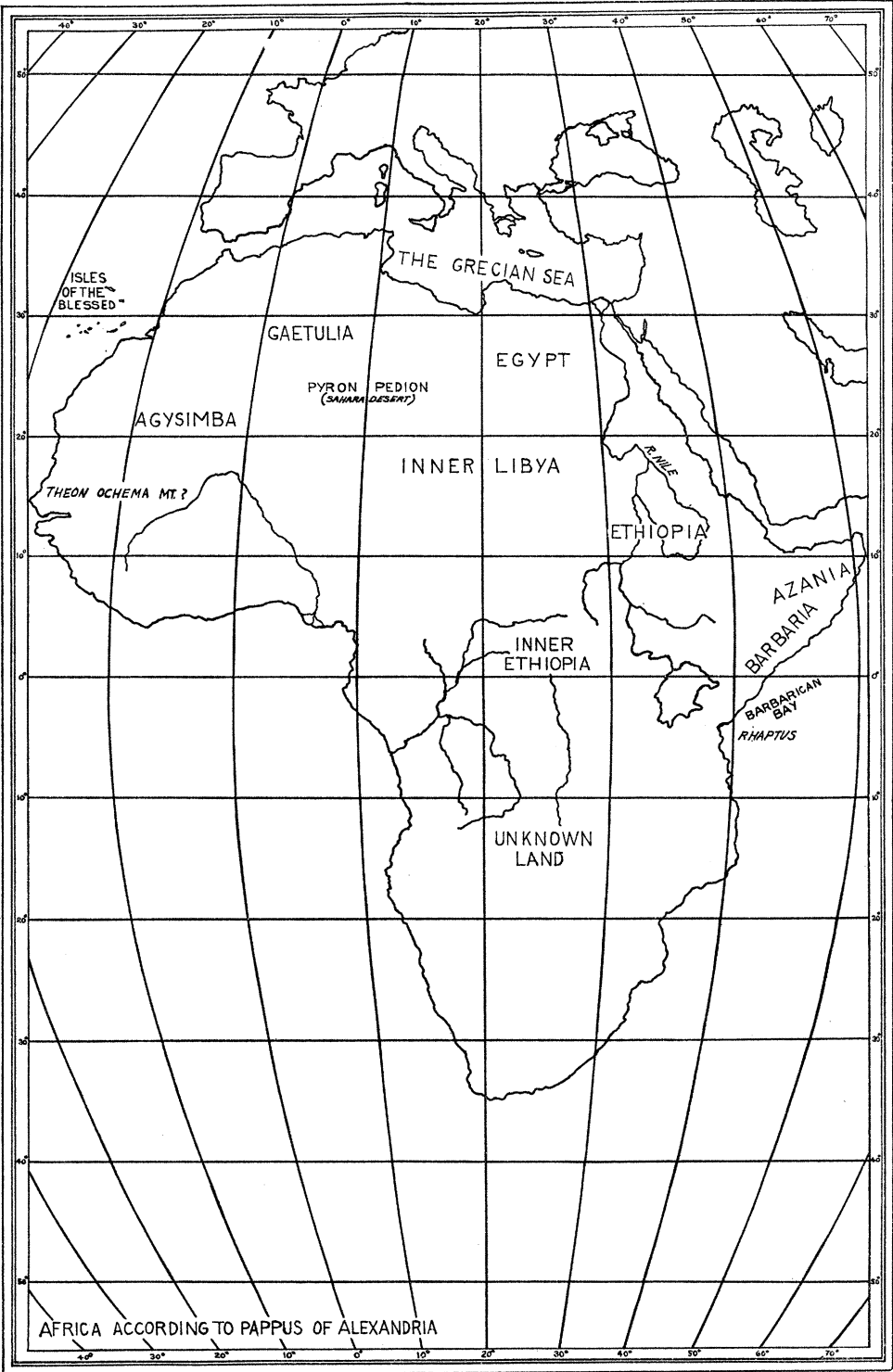
<sup>36</sup> *Luk'* is probably a corruption of the original

place name. In its present form it corresponds to nothing in any classical source.

<sup>37</sup> Another Biblical reference.

<sup>38</sup> Another gloss.

<sup>39</sup> Yet another gloss.



Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> They say that Zosimus preached there, though in my opinion this is only an allegory.)

The seventh country of Libya is Ethiopia, which is called Lower Egypt, located by Egypt along the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea and extending to the Torrid Zone toward the south. It has two rivers, branches of the Nile, which unite at first, then, separating, form the island of Memnos and unite again. The other river, called Astapus, flows from the Lake of Coloe and enters the Nile near the island. It [also] has eight mountains and three small provinces: Barbaria, near the Barbarican Bay; Azania, where are found a number of elephants; the [land of the] Cave-Dwellers and thirty-six districts, one of which is called [the land] of the Babylonians; the Root-Eaters; and the Axumites, a celebrated kingdom opposite Cape Premnis which separates Adulite from Fortunate Arabia. (It seems to me that Job made an allusion to this place when he said: "Watch the road of the Themnites you who see the roads of Sheba".)<sup>41</sup> Here are the Pygmies; the Ostrich-Eaters, the Tent-Dwellers, and between these two the Central Ethiopians. It has twenty-seven islands in the Arabian Gulf, another one called Isle of the Magi; and another, the Isle of Fowl. Ethiopia contains countries yielding incense and myrrh. It has sandy and waterless countries as well.

The eighth country of Libya is Lower Ethiopia, which begins east of the Unknown Land near Inner Libya and Inner Ethiopia and is bordered on the south by the Unknown Land near which dwell the Hesperidian Ethiopians and, to the south, the naked Dragonmen. To the north are the fish-eating Ethiopians; and the animals called dog-lions; by them the Aphroceros Ethiopians, among whom is an animal like a giraffe resembling a ferocious but aromatic leopard; the fierce tree-dwelling goat-eaters; leopards; white elephants; rhinoceroses; tigers; horse-tigers; and satyrs who have the face of a man but who are hairy, horned, and hooved and very brilliantly marked. To the south is a country called Agysimba where an animal is found with the face, hands, and waist of a woman and the body of a quadruped. There are other naked, manlike monsters with the snout of a dog, and neck and ears like a monkey-lion. [Further] to the south are the tall Ethiopians and further on the man-eating Ethiopians. There is a small river there called Rhaptus where there is found a fire-breathing animal like a wild boar, and the salamander which resembles a lizard and which extinguishes fire when it passes through it. In this region is found another amphibious animal called the *zesubēs*,<sup>42</sup> resembling a sheep, which loves fishing and is very fond of fish, which it gathers while swimming.

The second part is finished.

### *Asia*

Asia is the first among the general divisions of the inhabited world. Its limits are Europe on the west, and the Unknown Land and Libya on the north, east, and south. Its principal part is the middleland located between the Grecian Sea and the Pontus. This is why it is called the "Middleland."

The first country of Asia is Bithynia [located] east of Constantinople with the Pontic straits called the Thracian Bosphorus. Its limits are the Propontis, beginning at the temple of Artemis on the east side of the Pontus and [extending] as far as the mouth of the River Rhyndacus, and Mount Olympia. It has Mount Selinum, the rivers Elata, Hyppius, the mighty Sangarius, and the smaller ones which flow into it. Near Nicomedia is Lake Sumonensis and the River Ascanius. [Bithynia] has five islands in the Pontic Sea of

<sup>40</sup> See Jer. 35.

<sup>41</sup> Job 5:19.

<sup>42</sup> This word is apparently corrupt; it has no meaning in Greek or Armenian.

which two are called the Cyaneae. The city of *Prāma* also has a lake.<sup>43</sup> There are two capitals, Chalcedon and Nicomedia, which have fourteen other cities under them and several emporiums (i.e., maritime and mercantile cities. On the banks of the River Rhyndacus a white earth is found called argil that is ground up to spread on the wheat; a basket of which is sufficient to protect 117 kilograms from being eaten by worms<sup>44</sup>.)

The second country is Greater and Lesser Mysia which is [also] called Hellespontus and which borders Bithynia. It has four rivers and its capital is Cyzicus where there is a temple and another building which is one of the seven wonders [of the world].<sup>45</sup> It has three cities: Ilium, Dardanus, and Troy, whose war is narrated by Dictys and Homer. It has thirty-eight other cities.

The third country, Asia Proper, borders Mysia near the sea. Its chief cities are Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, and Tralles, which have forty-eight cities under them. It has a small region, Lydia, whose capital is Sardis; then Aeolis and Ionia whose [people] are Greek; and Caria. It has five rivers. It also has the islands of Chios, with the city of the same name; Posidium, where mastic is found; Icarus; Samus, with the cities of the same name; and Cos, mentioned by Luke in the Acts [of the Apostles]. Ephesus was subject to Artemis. (Here is the tomb of the evangelist St. John; and of the other John who was surnamed Mark, though some say that this was another John.)

The fourth country of Asia is Lycia, whose capital is Myra. It has two mountains, four rivers, and the island of Rhodes [located] in the sea of the same name. (Storax is found there which is called Armenian liquidamber and which flows from the trees like honey or thick dregs.)

The fifth country of Asia is Phrygia, which is east of Asia Proper and borders Lycia. It has three subdivisions of its own: [first] Pisidia, whose capital is Antioch and which has twenty-six other cities, one of which is called Cibotus (i.e., "The Ark," because here the ark of Noah was built. I do not know if this is truth or legend.) [Second] Pacatiana, whose capital is Laodicea [and which has] forty other cities and [third] Salutaria, whose capital is Synnada [and which has] thirty other cities. It also has thirteen lakes.

—Honorias <sup>46</sup> is east of Bithynia and borders Phrygia [extending] as far as the Pontic Sea. Its capital is Claudiopolis which has five other cities under it. It has the River Parthenius [which is made up] of three brooks, whose sources the gods swear by because of their extreme coldness.—

The eighth country of Asia, Second Galatia, is east of Phrygia by First Galatia [extending] as far as Pamphylia. It has rivers which flow into the above-mentioned stream [the Parthenius] and which [also] form lakes.

—Pamphylia<sup>47</sup> is east of Lycia and borders Galatia. It has five small districts, one mountain, three rivers, and two islands and [several] cities. (An aromatic gum is found here called storax which is formed in the hollows of trees eaten by worms.<sup>48</sup>)—

The ninth country is Isauria located to the east, by the sea, opposite the Island of Cyprus. It contains the Taurus Mountains. (It yields gum, storax, colophane, ober-

<sup>43</sup> The only other lake of importance in Bithynia was Lake Ascanius, now Lake Iznik. *Prāma* may perhaps be Prusa (Bursa), some miles south of the lake.

<sup>44</sup> The reference to "maritime and mercantile cities" is obviously a gloss, but the entire passage has the feeling of being an interpolation, especially when compared with so many other passages on aromatics, spices, etc., which appear later in the text.

<sup>45</sup> The short versions of the text identifies this temple as being dedicated to the goddess Rhea.

<sup>46</sup> Honorias is missing from the long redaction, and I have supplied this passage from the short version of the text.

<sup>47</sup> Pamphylia is also missing from the long redaction and has been supplied from the short one.

<sup>48</sup> This passage, like all the following ones dealing with aromatics, spices, and gems, would appear to be interpolations into the text by a copyist working later than the original Armenian redactor.



gomphis, and calamite; all of which flow from the trees and are produced by the boring of a yellow-colored worm with black markings, like a blight.) Its capital is Seleucia, which has twenty-three cities under it. . . .<sup>49</sup>

The tenth country is Lycaonia, east of Second Galatia near Isauria. It has broad, arid plains and small mountains.

—Second Cappadocia is east of Galatia and borders Lycaonia. It has rivers and small mountains and is entirely composed of large plains.<sup>50</sup>—

Eleven, Helenopontus, is by the same Pontus and borders Paphlagonia near Second Galatia.

Polemoniac Pontus is east of Helenopontus and borders the Pontic Sea. —It has small mountains, inaccessible places, the River Thermidon and several smaller [rivers].<sup>51</sup>—

The thirteenth country, Helenopontus, is near Lycaonia.

The fourteenth country is First Cappadocia, east of Second Cappadocia, and forms a separate province from it. It has the Antitaurus Mountains and other smaller ones. Its rivers are the Melas, the Halys, and other smaller ones which unite with them.

The fifteenth country is the First and Second Cilicias, east of Lycaonia and Isauria near Cappadocia on the seacoast by the Issic Gulf. It has the Taurus Mountains and six rivers: the Arymagdus, Calycadnus, Damus, Cydnus, Sarus, and Pyramus. Its capitals are Tarsus and Anazarbus which have several cities and castles under them. [Cilicia] has two impregnable passes, Mallus and Platan (and is very fertile like the land of Jordan).

The sixteenth country, the island of Cyprus, is east of the Pamphylian Sea, near Cilicia and [extends] as far as the Phoenician Sea. It has Mount Olympus and four rivers. [The island is] 3° long and 1° wide. (Laudanum is found there which falls like dew on the grass, on the goats and [their] coats, and which is used in place of incense.)

The Armenias<sup>52</sup> are east of Cilicia near the Taurus Mountains. They have three mountains, four rivers, and two passes leading into Syria.

First Armenia is east of First Cappadocia and borders Third [read: Second] Armenia. The Euphrates borders it on the east side. It had Mount Argeus, the River Halys, and other smaller ones.

Second Armenia is east of Cappadocia extending lengthwise to the Euphrates. It has two other rivers and many large mountains [to the number of] twenty-two.

—Cappadocian Pontus<sup>53</sup> is east of Polemoniac Pontus [extending] from the sea to the

<sup>49</sup> Here follows a passage elaborating on the aromatics mentioned just above.

<sup>50</sup> Second Cappadocia is also missing from the long redaction and has been supplied from the short one.

<sup>51</sup> This second sentence, not found in the long redaction, has been supplied from the short version.

<sup>52</sup> The description of Lesser Armenia found in the long redaction reflects conditions as they were between 591 and 636 A.D. and so does the description in the short version, but by changing one word in the short redaction this version can be made to reflect the situation as of the time of the reforms of Diocletian, during whose reign Pappus lived and worked. This word is *errord*, "third," which I have altered to read *erkrord*, "second." The similarity of the two words in Armenian would make it very easy to confuse the two, especially in the light of the later existence of a real "Third" Armenia. For this reason the

text of the short redaction has been followed for this passage and the two which follow it (First and Second Armenia). The corresponding passage in the long version has been rewritten to refer more directly to the conditions between 591 and 636, and part of it appears to be missing. It reads as follows:

The seventeenth country, Second Armenia, which is today called First Armenia, is east of Cilicia near the Taurus Mountains extending to the Amanus Mountains, which separate it from Commagene of the Syrians and extend as far as the Euphrates. It has other mountains: the Zigon Basilicon and Oromandon, and its rivers are the Paryardis, the Ciaccas, and Caromosus. It has two passes leading into Syria.

<sup>53</sup> Cappadocian Pontus is missing from the long redaction and has been supplied from the short one.

Moschian mountains which separate it from Greater Armenia. It has three mountains and four rivers. Such is the description of the Middleland.—

The eighteenth country of Asia is the territory of the Sarmatians. On the east it is bordered by the Ripaeian Mountains, the River Tanais, and the Maeotis Gulf, and on the west by the Pontus Euxinus. To the same coast, from east to west, flows the River Corax (which means “crow.”) From there [Sarmatia extends] to the Caucasus Mountains to Iberia and Albania, as far as the Caspian Sea at the mouth of the River Soana (but this River Soana is unknown [to us]). It [Sarmatia] contains the Ceraunian and the Hippic Mountains, which give forth five rivers [that flow] into the Maeotis Sea. The Caucasus gives forth two rivers. [One] the Vardanes, flows to the Coraxici Mountains which begin opposite the Caucasus, extend toward the northwest, and end between the Pontic and Maeotian seas. The [other] river, Psychrus by name, flows toward the Bosphorus and to the original frontier, (where the little city of Anakopia [is located]. . . )

Between the Bulgars and the Pontic Sea live the (*Garšk'*, *K'ut'k'* and) *Swank'* (nations)<sup>54</sup> extending as far as Pityus, a coastal city of the land of the Abaza (i.e., the Apsilians and Abkhazians) to their coastal city, Sebastopolis, and from there as far as the river called *Dṛakon*, (which means “dragon,” which descends from Albania and flows through Abasgia and the land of Eger). There are forty-six territorialized tribes<sup>55</sup> [in Sarmatia]. To the north, near the Unknown Land, dwell the Royal Sarmatians and the Horse-Eaters. West of the Tanais River dwell the *Naxčamateank'* (and another nation called *Klārjk'*)<sup>56</sup> then the *Siwṛakac'ik'*<sup>57</sup> and the district of Mitridatene. Then, in the eastern part of the Ceraunian Mountains dwell the Amazons who are female warriors [who extend] as far as the River called the Rha, which has two sources north of the Unknown Land. These unite near the Hippic Mountains from which flows a branch of the Tanais River which falls into the Maeotis Bay. It [the Rha] then turns east opposite the Ceraunian Mountains. Then there are two other rivers coming from the east of the northern mountains which are called the Rhymici and [these] form a seventy-arm river (which the Turks call the Etil<sup>58</sup>). In its midst is an island (where the *Baslk'* took refuge from the Khazars and *Bwšxk'*, who come there from east and west during the winter. It is called the Black Island because of the numbers of the *Baslk'* nation, men and animals, who flock to it and make it appear black.)<sup>59</sup> Ptolemy calls it the Isle of Crows. The branches (of the Etil) unite and enter the Caspian Sea, dividing Sarmatia from the land of the Scythians. On the western [shore] according to Ptolemy, are the Udon, Alontes, Sontae, and Gerrhuae nations, whose homonymous rivers flow from the Caucasus to the sea near the Albanian frontier. . . .<sup>60</sup>

The nineteenth country of Asia, Colchis (i.e., *Egr [sic]*),<sup>61</sup> is east of the Pontic Sea near

<sup>54</sup> Of these three Caucasian peoples only the *Swank'* were known to classical geographers. Strabo (XI.2.19) calls them the *Σοάνοι*; Pliny (VI.11) the *Soanes*.

<sup>55</sup> The Armenian term *azgagawañ*, literally “nation-region” or “people-territory,” implies a people localized in a given area but not yet forming a state.

<sup>56</sup> The *Naxčamateank'* are obviously the *Ἰαξαμάται* of Ptolemy (V.8.10) and so were probably in the original text of Pappus. The *Klārjk'*, on the other hand, correspond to nothing in any classical text, but may be the same as the *Gluark'* of the Armenian author Faustus of Biwzanda.

<sup>57</sup> The *Siwṛakac'ik'* are obviously the *Συρακηοί* of Ptolemy (*ibid.*).

<sup>58</sup> Etil is the Turkic name for the River Volga.

The Greeks knew it as the *'Pa*.

<sup>59</sup> The *Baslk'* are clearly the *Barsalians* of the Byzantine historian Theophylactus Simocatta and do not appear in classical sources. The *Bwšxk'*, too, are derived from a later source than Pappus and probably refer to the Volga Bulgars.

<sup>60</sup> This passage on Sarmatia is quite lengthy and, although essentially classical, has been laced with interpolations. At this point, however, the Armenian redactor abandons his classical source altogether and continues his description of Sarmatia and the Caucasus Mountains according to other materials more relevant to his own era.

<sup>61</sup> Colchis, being even nearer to Armenia than Sarmatia, has more nonclassical material interpolated into it.

Sarmatia, [extending] west from the River *Dracon* to the Caucasus Mountains as far as the branch [of the Caucasus] which separates it from Iberia. From there it is bounded by Greater Armenia as far as Cappadocian Pontus. (It is divided into four small states: *Manwil*; *Egrew*; *Ki*, which is Eger Proper where the River Phasis [is found] by the town of the same name; and *Caniks*, which is *Xaltik*<sup>62</sup> where the River *Megaļu* [is found].) It has other rivers [such as] the Acampsis (or *Yoh*)<sup>62</sup> which has its source in Greater Armenia. It has five cities: *Iani*, *Kota*,<sup>63</sup> Rhodopolis, Athenae, and Rhizus and several other emporia or maritime cities such as Trebizond.

The twentieth country, Iberia, is east of Eger [read: Colchis] near Sarmatia by the Caucasus [extending] as far as the frontiers of Albania and Armenia by the River Kur. . . .<sup>64</sup>

The twenty-first country, Albania, (i.e., *Aluank*),<sup>65</sup> is east of Iberia bordering Sarmatia along the Caucasus and [extending] to the frontier of Armenia along the River Kur. . . .<sup>66</sup>

Greater Armenia<sup>67</sup> is east of Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia along the Euphrates River and by the Taurus Mountains, which separate it from Mesopotamia. On the south it is bordered by Assyria. Extending past Atropatene toward Media, it reaches to where the River Arax flows into the Caspian Sea. To the north it is bordered by Albania, Iberia, and Colchis, as far as the place where the Euphrates turns toward the south. Armenia contains famous mountains, large rivers, and [other] smaller [ones], and three lakes. . . .<sup>68</sup>

Twenty three: on the Syrians.<sup>69</sup> The country of Asia [called] Syria is located east of the sea of the same name. It begins at the city of Issus and the Cilician Gates [and extends] to the River Threas which is also called the Chrysorrhoas and to the Hippius Mountains. It is bounded on the south by Judaea and a part of Rocky Arabia [and extends] as far as Desert Arabia, to the bend of the Euphrates, to the east opposite the city of Thapsacus, and upriver as far as the Amanus Mountains on the north, which separate Cilicia and Cappadocia (i.e., Lesser Armenia) from Syria and Commagene, which is a small country.

Syria has nine small districts: Commagene whose [capital] city is Samosata; Chyrrhestice, whose [capital] city is Hieropolis, (i.e., *Mabuk*); Beraea, (i.e., *Xazaz*); Chalcidice whose [capital] city is Chalcis, (i.e., Nicoria); the great Antioch, which has its own territory called Seleucia; Apamea, whose [capital] city is called Apamea; Epiphania, (i.e., Hamath); Emessa, etc.; Casiotis, in which [is included] the Isle of Aradus; Coele-syria, whose [capital] city is Damascus; Batanaea, by the desert; Palmyrene, whose [capital] city is Havarin by the Arabian Desert; and Barbalitis along the Euphrates. It has the [following] mountains: Pieria, Casius, Lebanon, Antilebanon, (i.e., the Sanir);

<sup>62</sup> The Acampsis River was well known to classical authors; the Armenians called it the *Yoh* or, more often, the *Voh*. It is now the *Çoruh* (Jorukh) in Turkey.

<sup>63</sup> This list of five cities probably has a classical origin, although *Iani* and *Kota* are given in a local form of the names and are not found in known classical sources, as are Rhodopolis, Athenae, and Rhizus.

<sup>64</sup> The Armenians were intimately connected with the Iberians (East Georgians), and, with the exception of this opening sentence, the entire lengthy passage on Iberia has been based on local sources.

<sup>65</sup> A gloss giving the Armenian name for the Caucasian Albanians—not to be confused with the Albanians of the Balkan peninsula.

<sup>66</sup> The Albanians, too, were intimately con-

nected with the Armenians, and the rest of this lengthy passage is based on local sources.

<sup>67</sup> This passage describing Greater Armenia has been taken from the short version of the text, as it is closer to the classical text than that of the long version, which must have been *armenized* by a copyist sometime after the short version was made.

<sup>68</sup> Here follow fifteen separate passages, one for each of the fifteen states of Greater Armenia. All this material is drawn from local sources, as the Armenian redactor specifically points out.

<sup>69</sup> The Armenians were well acquainted with Syria, and here our Armenian redactor supplies us with numerous glosses designed to elucidate the now-out-of-date classical text for Eastern readers.

Alsadanus and Carmel; and notable rivers [such as] the Orontes which rises in the Lebanon [mountain], and flowing by Epiphania enters the sea near the great city of Antioch; the Eleutherus (which means the "free" River,) also flows from [Mt.] Lebanon, entering the sea by the city of Andaradum. The Adonis also flows from [Mt.] Lebanon, separates the cities of Byblus and Berytus, and enters the sea. The Jordan flows out of Panias, passes through the Sea of Galilee, and enters the Sea of Asphalites. There are other mountains and rivers such as that of Damascus, the River Abana which flows through the city, and the Barada which flows to the east, (and which Holy Scripture calls the Abana and the Parpara); and also a small river which flows from Daphne [a suburb] of Antioch (which is connected to the myth of Castalia (?)).<sup>70</sup>

The twenty-fourth country of Asia is Judaea, east of the Phoenecian Sea, beginning at the sources of the River Threas, which are at Caesarea-in-Palestine, [and extending] as far as the port of Gaza. It is bounded partly by Egypt on the west, by the desert on the south and east, and by Syria on the north. It has three districts: Galilee, Samaria, and Idumea; Lakes Tiberias and Asphalites, that is, the Dead Sea, and the River Jordan. It is 3° long and 2 wide. Its capital is (the Holy) Jerusalem (center of the four parts of the world and which alone can consecrate the faithful).

The twenty-fifth country of Asia, Rocky Arabia, is east of Egypt, the Arabian Sea, and Heroopolis [extending] to the western fork of the Red Sea (through which the Israelites passed). It is bounded on the south by Fortunate Arabia, on the east by Desert Arabia, and on the north by Syria and Judaea. It has five small districts near Egypt (*Tačkastan*<sup>71</sup>), the Munuchiatis Gulf by the Red Sea, and Pharanitis, where the town of Pharan [is located], (which I think the Arabs call Mecca). Here [at this city] begin the mountains called Melana which extend northward turning slightly to the east; then [comes] the Elanites [Gulf] which is near a plateau. Fortunate Arabia contains the River Thrathenum but not a single spring. It is 6° long and 2 wide.

The twenty-sixth country, Mesopotamia, is east of Syria, to the north by Greater Armenia. It is bordered by Babylonia and Desert Arabia. Ptolemy says it has two mountains. One he calls Singaras (but I do not know which this is); the other he calls Masium from which he says two rivers flow. One [river] he calls the Chaboras (which I think must be the *Xabor*. The source of this river is not in the mountains, however, but in the plain near the city of *Řaština*.) These [rivers] flow into the Euphrates. The *T'rt'ar* flows from the mountain of the same name, goes directly to the east, and joins the Euphrates. (I know these two rivers [which belong to] Syrian Mesopotamia; and also two mountains: one *Kohi- Šngar* and another [called] the Long Mountain where are [located] the fortress of *Mardē*, *Tuřapdin* district, and *Bzabde*. There are two other small mountains, one, *Amad*, has a city called *Azisun*; the other mountain is called *Bemada*.)

The Euphrates separates Mesopotamia from Syria and Desert Arabia from the land of Babylonia. The Tigris, flowing south, reaches the mountains, turns east, and flows away from Mesopotamia. . . .<sup>72</sup>

The twenty-seventh country is Babylonia bordering Mesopotamia along the Tigris [and extending] as far as the Persian Gulf. It is bounded on the east by Khuzistan and on the west by the Euphrates and a part of Desert Arabia. According to Ptolemy, it has [the following] small provinces: Aurantis, Amardocaea, Strophadas, and Chaldaea. . . .<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> This passage, from here on, while following the classical text, would appear to have been almost completely rewritten.

<sup>71</sup> *Tacik* was the Pahlevi term for "Arab" and thus *Tačkastan* would be Arabia. In Armenian the term *Tacik* gradually came to be used for all Muslim peoples—Arabs, Turks, Tatars, etc.

<sup>72</sup> Here follows a short description of the rivers flowing into the Tigris from Armenia and of certain places in that region, all derived from nonclassical sources.

<sup>73</sup> Here follows a lengthy passage on the river system of Babylonia, which is clearly nonclassical in origin.

–Desert Arabia<sup>74</sup> is bordered by Mesopotamia on the north, Rocky Arabia on the east, and Khuzistan on the west. Arabia has nine nations but not a mountain or a river.–

The twenty-eighth country of Asia, Arabia Eudemon, (i.e., “the fortunate,”) is near Desert and Rocky Arabia between the gulfs of the Red Sea like a peninsula. It is bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea from the bifurcation [of the sea] to the straits; on the south, from Cape Palindromus as far as Cape *Varaz* and the straits of Carmania where are [located] the eastern limits of the Persian Gulf. The same sea forms the frontier on the north as far as Desert Arabia; where live fifty-four nations among whom are the Sabaeen nation, Niciphar; Myritis, (i.e., the land of perfumes); and the land of myrrh. Another is the country of the Fish-Eaters; and another of the Tent-Dwellers. It has ten mountains, one of which is called Climax, (i.e., “the ladder,”) and another, the Mountain of Incense. It has four rivers and one spring called the Styx, on which the gods swear by its extreme coldness. It has one island called Diosciordis, which is 240 miles long and 40 wide; and thirty-nine other smaller islands, one of which is called the island of Wild Tortoises. East of the Sabelite Gulf are eight islands. Its borders by land and sea are 28° long and 21° wide. South of its extremity are found the Unknown Land and the Barbaric Sea.<sup>75</sup>

The twenty-ninth country of Asia is Persia. . . .<sup>76</sup>

The thirtieth country of Asia is Media, whose inhabitants are said to be descended from Madus, sone of Medea, daughter of the king of Colchis, who, enamoured of Jason, let him steal the Golden Fleece, though no one can say by what manner they came to be brought here. . . .<sup>77</sup>

–*Aruastan* [read: Assyria] (which is called Assyria, i.e., Mosul)<sup>78</sup> is east of Mesopotamia and borders Armenia. It has mountains, rivers, and the city of Nineveh.–

The thirty-second country of Asia is Persia, which is east of Khuzistan bordering Media. (It has the city of *Stahr* from which *Artasir*, son of *Sasan* of *Steh*, came. To the north is found the city of Parza, which is in the district of *K'obar*, which is perhaps the one mentioned by Ezechiel. It has two islands, one of which is called by Ptolemy [the Island] of Alexander and the other, *Sobat*, which is mentioned by Jeremiah: “Gold comes from *Sobat*.”<sup>79</sup>)

The thirty-third country of Asia is Ariana, which is east of Media and extends as far as India, by Hyrcania and part of Scythia. It has eleven provinces: Scorpion province;

<sup>74</sup> Desert Arabia is omitted in the long redaction of the text and has been supplied here from the short version.

<sup>75</sup> Here follows a lengthy passage on Arabian trade, racial characteristics of the population, and the spices to be found in Arabia, material all clearly nonclassical in origin.

<sup>76</sup> Here follow four passages each of which describes one of the four great divisions of the Sassanian Empire and lists the subdivisions found within each. Apart from the sketchy catalogue of *The Provincial Capitals* of *Erānšahr* (ed. and English trans. J. Markwart, *Analecta Orientalia*, 1931, 1–120), a Pahlevi text of the 8th century, this is the only geographical description we possess of the Sassanian Empire at any point in its 600-year history. It was clearly written after the reorganization of the Empire under Khosrō Anōsharwān (531–579) and was based on Persian sources.

<sup>77</sup> The idea that the Medes were descended from Jason originates, it would appear, from a misunderstanding of the Median word \**yazona*, Old Persian *ayadana*, “place of worship,” which the Greeks rendered as *Ἰασόνα* (Jasonia) and took to be shrines dedicated to the memory of Jason (cf. Strabo, XI.14.12; J. Markwart, *Südarmanien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna: Mechitaristen Kongregation, 1930, pp. 531–551). Here follows an interpolation referring to certain events in Romano-Persian history and citing Ptolemy’s description of Media, while discussing which of its provinces are truly Median.

<sup>78</sup> Assyria is not found in the long redaction and has been supplied here from the short one. The reference to *Aruastan* is a gloss, as is that to the city of Mosul.

<sup>79</sup> Chobar, Ezek. 1: 1; Ophaz, Jer. 10: 1.



Dymus, Hot Carmania (and *Kranapat*, which the Persians call "Cold Carmania"); to the north is the province of Parthia between (Cold) Carmania and Hyrcania. . . .<sup>80</sup>

Now we shall turn from the east to the north.

The thirty-fourth country is Scythia, which begins at the River Etil<sup>81</sup> and extends obliquely to the southeast as far as the Imaeus Mountains. Scythia is almost divided in two by the Imaeus ([in which dwell] the *Apxtark'*, who are Turks). On the north is the Unknown Land; on the west, the land of Sarmatia along the River Etil; to the south, the Hyrcanian Sea, Ariana, and India by the southern bend of the Imaeus Mountains, and [extending] still further to the Aemodae Mountains which also separate Scythia from India. To the east it is bordered by China. It contains forty-three nations, one of whom is the Fish-Eaters, another the Milk-Drinkers, and another, the Rhobaci (i.e., the land of *Hrēaw*, which has been seized by the Persians. The other [nations] bear barbarous names of which it is unnecessary to speak, for today they are unknown and only the *Bušx* nation<sup>82</sup> occupy the country.) Scythia has mountains, and dry, waterless plains. It has five countries [among which are] Sogdiana (i.e., *Sagastan*) and *Sakē*. [Together] these two contain fifteen rich, industrious, and mercantile nations who dwell between Turkestan and Ariana by the Imaeus Mountains, which are the highest and widest of all mountains. (They have the shape of a compass or of the Armenian letter Յ, whose angle lies from east to south.) A chain of 1,280 miles extends toward the west and another of 1,550 northward to the Unknown Land. To the north, 300 miles from the angle, there are roads in the mountains and stopping places for those who are going to China and who are coming from *Sagastan* by way of the Stone Tower which is in a marvelous plain. Among the fifteen nations [of *Sagastan* and *Sakē*] are the Massagetae, whose queen killed Cyrus; (the *Bxux*<sup>83</sup>); and another, the Chorasmians [who are] merchants [dwelling] toward the northeast (the stone called *Xolozmi* and the best bows are found in their district called *Tur*.) and also another nation . . .<sup>84</sup> and another nation, the Tocharians. Among the forty-three nations are numbered the Hephthalites, *Alxon*, and another, the *Valxon*, with their cities of the same names by a large river called the Demus. Ten other rivers flow from their mountains.<sup>85</sup>

The thirty-fifth country of Asia is India, east of Ariana and Scythia by the Imaeus Mountains. [It extends] from there as far as the Aemodae Mountains and the border of China, and is divided into two parts east and west of the River Ganges. Ptolemy shows seven rivers here, each with its own name, which, uniting near the Gymnosophists, are called the Phison. There are [also] three rivers rising among the Gymnosophists: first the Diamunas River, then the Ganges, and then the Sarabus, which, uniting, are called the *Imoyn*. To the right of the River Indus are fifty-seven nations. (Here are found *hreašir*, *dahanak*, and excellent tin.) The Gymnosophists feed only on fruit, rice, and sugar (they are called the Shaman and Brahmin nation by the Persians). They abstain from women and cattle, and in the morning they worship the sun saying: "We believe you [to be God], but if there is any other superior to you, to him do we render our worship." Here are found giraffes (which the Persians call *šarpašank'*). There are seventy-

<sup>80</sup> Here follows a passage on Ariana giving the Persian names of its subdivisions and containing material referring to Armenian history and the Bible.

<sup>81</sup> The word Etil, the Turkic name for the Volga, was apparently substituted by the Armenian redactor for the classical *Rha* when he recognized the Rha as the Etil from its description.

<sup>82</sup> The *Bušx* are probably the same as the

*Bwšxk'* mentioned above (n.59) and may correspond to the Volga Bulgars.

<sup>83</sup> See n.82.

<sup>84</sup> Here follows another nonclassical passage listing the precious stones to be found in Persia.

<sup>85</sup> This passage on Scythia contains numerous interpolations but is essentially based on classical material.



two nations east of the Ganges River [extending] as far as the land of the Sinae. Here are other districts called the "Golden" and the "Silver." In their capital are found crows, white parrots, and bearded roosters. Two other districts are also called "Golden" and "Silver" and another, the "Copper" district. Here are found elephants and tigers, which they say are subdued by magic and are as fast as the wind. . . .<sup>86</sup> There are several islands here: [those of] the warrior peoples and the cannibals near the island of [Ia]badiu, whose capital city abounds in gold and silver [and which is located in] the Green Sea. . . .<sup>87</sup>

The thirty-sixth country, Taprobane, is a large island of India and the largest island in the entire world. From north to south it is 1,100 miles long and from east to west 510 miles wide. It lies beyond India and is surrounded by the Indian Sea. (*Hzizon* is found there which is [a kind of] millet; ginger; beryl, hyacinth, and other precious stones, and also much gold and silver and elephants and tigers.) It has two mountains in the center, one called Teliba, which is the source of two rivers, and the other called Malaea, which is the source of three rivers. (Here are found imperishable woods, ginger, fine pearls, and the most precious stones. There are two cities, they say, 150 miles apart. One is called *Manakor* and one called *Řoyan*. Between them is a mountain named *Gayiasē* from which flows a river in which the most precious stones are found.) There are twelve nations in the north who always dress their hair like that of women. (Two of these nations are called the *Hac'acank'* and the *Hac'ayink'*.)

In the south the plains are used for pasturing elephants. They say that one nation which dwells in this country is made up of women and that at a certain time of the year dogs come among the elephants and have intercourse with the women who give birth to twins, one male and the other female. The sons cross the river to their fathers while the girls remain with their mothers. (But I believe that this is just an allegory, for they say the same about the Amazons in the Book of Alexander [the Great]. The allegory means that they are a quick-turning(?) people.<sup>88</sup>) Ptolemy says that there are temples of the moon in the southern extremity of the island. There are 1,378 other islands around Taprobane, some inhabited and others uninhabited, but of which [only] nineteen names [are known to us]. The Equator crosses the south of this large island.

The thirty-seventh country of Asia is Serica (i.e., China<sup>89</sup>). It is bordered by Scythia on the west, to the north and east by the Unknown Land, and to the south by India and the land of the Sinae. China is a broad plain inhabited by twenty-nine nations, one of which, the cannibals; [live] by the Unknown Land. It has six mountains, Cinnamon and cassia are found in the Cassii Mountains, and scythicum, which is by nature the color of fire. It also has monsters, the musk-ox, many peacocks and other useful birds, and so much saffron that a horseman, going hunting with a white horse and a white falcon, returns covered with a yellow color. Silk, more and better than that of any other country, is found here, and the industrious inhabitants enrich themselves through textile manufacture. The king ([or] *Cenbakur*,<sup>90</sup>) resides in the city of Sera in the southeast extremity of the country.

The thirty-eighth country of Asia is [that of] the Sinae near the Chinese. It is bounded by them on the north, on the east and south by the Unknown Land, and on the west by India and the Green Sea [extending] as far as the Unknown Land. Five nations live here

<sup>86</sup> Here follows a list of the aromatics, animals, and certain provinces of India, all clearly non-classical in origin.

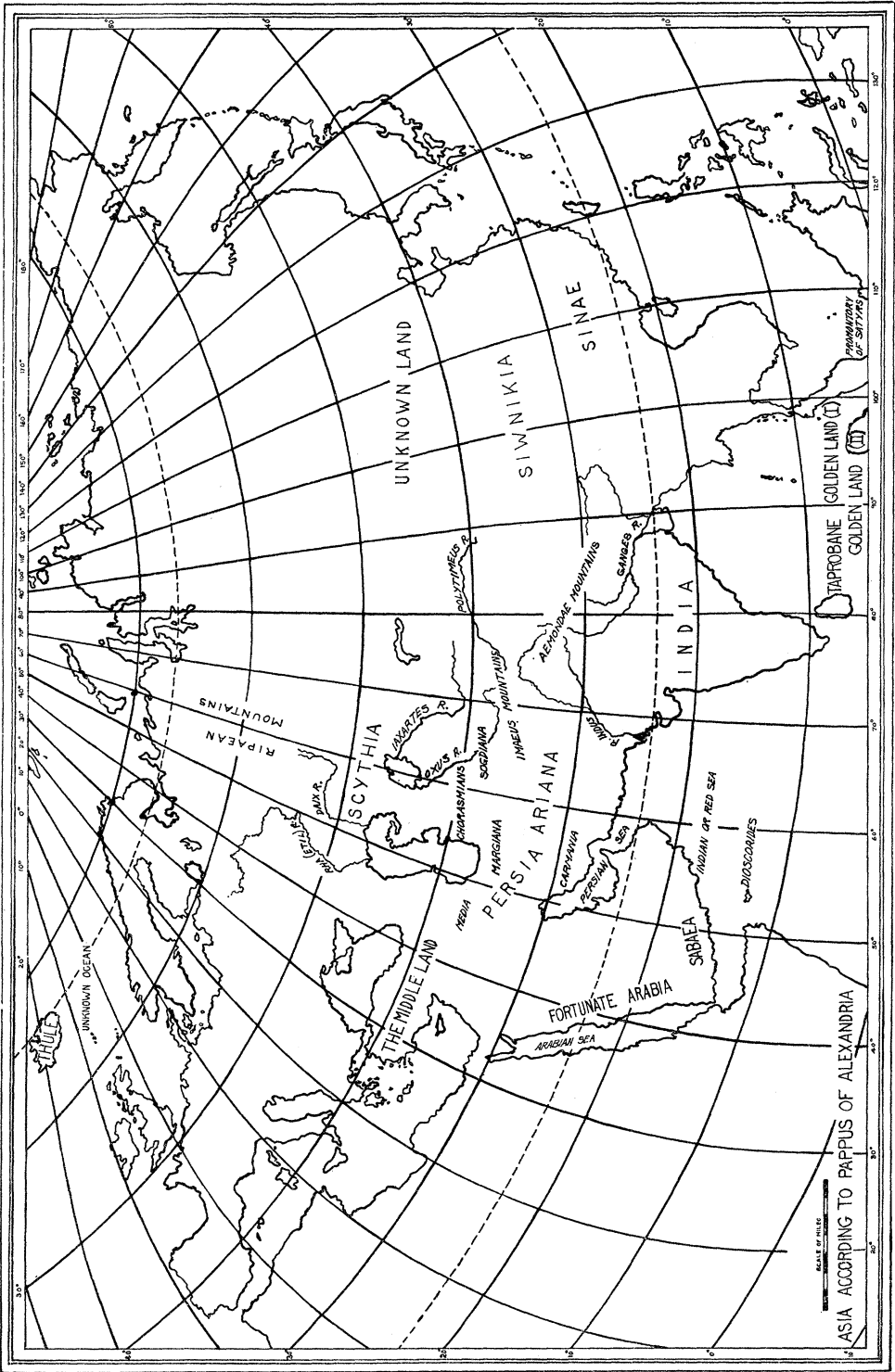
<sup>87</sup> Here follows a list of spices found in India with their prices in *dahekans* (talents).

<sup>88</sup> This passage, obviously a gloss, is unclear in

the Armenian text.

<sup>89</sup> By *Siwnikia* in the text the Armenian redactor is obviously referring to the classical *Serica*.

<sup>90</sup> A gloss giving the Armenian title for the king of China.



with rivers which bear the same names [as themselves]. Between the rivers and the sea live the fish-eating people called Ethiopians, who appear to have immigrated there. It is said that near the Unknown Land dwell humanoids; men with half a body; men with two faces, men with six hands, men with seals' feet, with dragons' feet, half-bird, half-beast, half-man [and half-beast] headless men, dog-headed men, and all that sort of thing. To me these things are quite unbelievable; as for others they may believe as they wish.